II.

THE CATERANS OF INVERAVEN. By JOHN MALCOLM BULLOCH, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

The Castle of Corgarff in its early history stood as shield against the inroads of the Highlanders in the valley of the Spey into the fertile valleys of the Don and Dee. But those districts had another line of defence in the presence of the family of Gordon, who for purely personal reasons formed a buttress along the whole western border of Aberdeenshire against the operations of marauders, who represented the original Highland peoples of the broad district into which the Gordons had come from the Borders in the early years of the fourteenth century. The Gordons had brought with them at least the elements of feudal polity, and it may be said that from first to last the family, retaining their southern training, never quite understood the Highland temperament. Even in 1724 the Duke of Gordon's factor, Gordon of Glenlucket, was attacked by some of the Mackintoshes; and, still later, during the recruiting for the various regiments raised by the ducal head of the house, the Gordons were frequently at variance with the spirit of their Highland tenants and neighbours.

The attitude of the Gordons, in regard to their Highland neighbours in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was conditioned not by any desire to play the policeman to the community, but to defend their own holding. The crucial fact was that the main line was in the keeping of a woman, Elizabeth Gordon, who settled in Strathbogie and married Alexander Seton, founding the noble family of Huntly. Her "handfasted" cousin, Jock, established himself in Rhynie as a defence post to the south, and his brother, Tam of Rivven, to the north in Cairnie, and those two sent out roots all round them, sometimes ousting older settlers and sometimes taking in what was practically virgin soil. That in a nutshell is the history of the house.

Sometimes the ennobled family itself sent out new flanks. This was notably the case in the creation of the Castle of Auchindoun, picturesquely associated with the redoubtable Edom o' Gordon: and similar attempts at overlordship had been made before that in the wild region of Inveraven, or Strathaven, still recalled in one of the titles of the Marquis of Huntly, whose ancestor, the 1st Earl of Aboyne, was created Lord Gordon of Strathaven and Glenlivet in 1660. Into this wild, inaccessible region the 3rd Earl of Huntly sent his younger son,

Alexander, to uphold his rights and keep some semblance of order in a hostile countryside. But, so far from conquering the Celtic population, the descendants of the Gordons, by a curious irony, assimilated the manners of the natives, as we shall see, and became quite as lawless as the many Macs who dwelt there.

I may say that Strathaven had been originally part of the estate of Alexander Stewart (fourth son of Robert II.), Earl of Buchan, who died in 1406. He left it to his second (natural) son, Sir Andrew Stewart, and it came to the latter's (bastard) nephew, Thomas Stewart, who in turn sold it to Alexander, Earl of Huntly. I do not know when the purchase took place, but on 22nd October 1495, Alexander, Lord Gordon, afterwards 3rd Earl of Huntly, got infeftment by order of the Council, of "Inrowreyis" (Inverourie) and Inverlochy, and of the lands of Fodderletter, which John Grant of Freuchie had withheld (*Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. ii. pp. 308–9).

The parish of Inveraven immediately north of Kirkmichael sprawls some fifteen miles from Elginshire to the spurs of Carn Mor in Strathdon. Much of it is wild and bare to this day, notably the region of Glenlivet, with its miles of moor, and in former times it was very inaccessible, though probably it contained more people than it does to-day. The consequence was that the Highland inhabitants, hard put to it at times for harvests and well out of the reach of the law, made a fine art of raiding. The district was the cradle of caterans, vagabonds, "lymmars," and "broken men," as far down as the middle of the seventeenth century.

Soon after being planted there by his father, the 3rd Earl, Alexander Gordon came to the conclusion that the region of Strathaven was much too bleak and unprofitable. So in 1539 he exchanged his Highland holding for the more fertile lands of Cluny, in Aberdeenshire, in the parish of that name, twenty-seven miles eastwards—he must have trekked by the Lecht and Corgarff road—founding the first set of Gordons of Cluny, who were quite unconnected with the present family. He reserved, however, his own life rent and the heritable right of Blairfindy. Whether he actually moved to Cluny himself I do not know, but he died "in peace" at his castle of Drumin, Inveraven, at the junction of the Avon and Livet, probably about 1568. The lands of Strathaven remained in the main line of the Huntly family. George, the 5th Earl of Huntly, the great grandnephew of Alexander I of Cluny, had a charter of Strathaven from his father in 1549 (for he was then only a second son), and his second son, Alexander (died 1622), also held Strathaven.

Alexander Gordon of Strathaven and I of Cluny married the younger daughter either of John Grant of Grant or of James Grant III of Freuchie, by whom he had two sons, Alexander and John, who succeeded

him in turn as lairds of Cluny. From the younger son, John, were descended the families of Cluny, of Birsemoir (ancestor of Patrick Gordon, Governor of Pennsylvania), which is in the parish of Birse, and of Pittendreich, in the parish of Keig. All these families seem to be extinct.

Alexander Gordon had also two natural, or perhaps "handfasted" sons, George of Tombae and William of Delmore, who were legitimised by a charter issued at Perth on 24th June 1553 under the Great Seal, where we learn that "the Queen gave letters of legimation to William Gordon and George Gordon, natural sons ('bastardis filiis naturalibus') of Alexander Gordon of Straithowin." It will be noticed that William is given first, whereas the "Balbithan MS." gives him second. It is much more likely, however, that William was the elder, as he got the lands of Delmore under the shadow of the paternal castle of Drumin, whereas Tombae lay further to the east, probably on much less fertile land, as compared to Delmore, which was watered by the Avon and the Livet.

As often happens in such cases, descendants of his two natural sons survive, notably the Gordons of Croughly, whose remarkable career—they have produced thirty officers—is not difficult to understand in view of the extraordinarily warlike characteristics of their ancestors, which I shall describe. On the other hand, all the male legitimate issue of Alexander I of Cluny are, so far as we know, extinct. Just as his father had palmed off the poor lands of Inveraven on Alexander as a younger son, so Alexander himself left his natural sons behind him in Inveraven, where they quickly assimilated the manners of the wild original Highland inhabitants.

Before going further one may give the natural sons and their descendants as stated in that invaluable source of genealogical information, the "Balbithan MS.," which has fortunately been printed by the New Spalding Club in the first volume of the *House of Gordon*. That document states that the two natural sons were:—

1. George Gordon of Tombae, near the Livet Water. He married Janet Grant and died in Tombae. He had two sons and one daughter.

   (1) Alexander Gordon in Tombae. He married Janet Stuart and died in peace. [*The Privy Council Register*, 1st series, vol. ix. p. 421, says he was dead by November 1612.] He had four sons:

   a. George Gordon in Tombae.

   b. John Gordon. [*The Privy Council Register*, 1st series, vol. ix. p. 421, calls him "John Roy Gordon," and says he was alive in November 1612.]

c. Patrick Gordon. [*The Privy Council Register*, 1st series, vol. ix. p. 421, says he was alive in November 1612.]

d. William Gordon.

(2) James Gordon in Achdrigny, now spelt Achdregnie, which is two miles south-east of Tombae. He had one son,

a. William Gordon.

(3) —— Gordon, married Alexander Grant in Inverourie, Kirkmichael.

2. William Gordon in Delmore [which is quite close to Drumin Castle, near the junction of the Avon and the Livet, but on the opposite side of the latter, four miles north-west of Tombae. The name to-day is given to a double cottage near to the stone where Dr Chalmers preached to the people at the Disruption, not far from Inveraven U.F. Church. The name, however, seems to have originally belonged to a ruined steading a quarter of a mile nearer Drumin. At one place, one version of the "Balbithan MS." calls William "in Achmoir." *The Privy Council Register* notes (1st series, vol. vii. p. 67) a William Gordon "in Dalmoir" in 1605. William of Delmore wrote "A genealogical account of the family of Gordon and their cadets, with a note of their lives and fortunes." It was in the possession of James Man, the Aberdeen historian, but all trace of it has been lost. Man says there was "little in it but mere genealogy till we come to 1630," but that would have made it intensely interesting]. He married Isabel Grant and was killed by "some of the Clan Chattan in Dellmoir." He had four sons:

(1) Alexander Gordon in Cruchly, now spelt Croughly, in the neighbouring parish of Kirkmichael, nearly four miles south-west of Tombae. He was the ancestor of the Gordons in Croughly, who are described in that model of a genealogy, *The Croughly Book*, by Captain George Huntly Blair Gordon, privately printed in 1895.

(2) Thomas Gordon in Neve, now Nevie, which is a mile and a half north of Tombae.

(3) John Gordon in Inverury, now spelt Inverourie, Kirkmichael, on the Avon, four miles north-west of Tombae.

(4) Adam Gordon in Achnascra, "who married and had succession in Strathaven."

This little group of Gordons—with the exception of those who settled at Croughly, which was fairly fertile—left to themselves in a bleak, inaccessible district, began to forage for themselves as the original inhabitants had probably always done, long before the Gordons had ever set foot there. They made raids on their more fortunate neighbours, sometimes, as we shall see, going as far afield as the parish of Echt, over thirty miles eastwards in Aberdeenshire, and, during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, they gave a great deal of trouble to the authorities. They figure frequently in *The Privy Council Register*, where their exploits clothe with picturesqueness the dry bones of genealogy, corroborating the latter as outlined by the "Balbithan MS.," which is proved once more to be remarkably accurate.

The Achdregnie Gordons, 1604.

The Strathaven Gordons probably all took part in the battle of Corrichie, for Adam Gordon in Nevie and William Gordon in "Cruichlie" were in the remission of 1567. But their first appearance as raiders occurs in the case of the Achdregnie group. This is on all fours with the wild career of the descendants of the natural sons of Alexander Gordon I of Cluny, for it is probable that Achdregnie, as a poorer holding than Tombae, went to the second son of the laird of the latter. In any case, in 1604 James Gordon in Achdregnie ("in Auchdregin"), second son of George of Tombae, got into trouble at the expense of his parent house. In this he was associated with Finla Farquharson in Achriachan, William Grant in Over Downan, John Grant in Inverchebit, William Grant there, William Gordon in "Dalmoir," and Alexander Gordon, "sometime in Downane, now in Waternadie." The trouble was that they had not paid to Alexander Gordon "of Stradoun," their overlord (and Achdregnie's begetter), certain "violent profits" for lands of his occupied by them, and had refused to flit from the lands of Over Downan, Nether Downan, Over Drymmen, and Creuchlie, conform to a decree obtained by him against them on 1st and 8th February 1604, when they were put to the horn at the instance of Alexander Gordon "of Stradoun." He brought the case before the Privy Council on 27th June 1605, but none of the defendants appeared, and so the Captain of the Guard was ordered to apprehend and enter them, "eject them furth of their houses, and inventory their goods for the king's use" (*Privy Council Register*, 1st series, vol. vii. p. 65).

"John the Cateran," 1609.

John Gordon, who was called the "Cateran," belonged to the Tombae group, though it is not quite easy to decide how. In a Privy Council

charge (*Register*, 1st series, vol. ix. p. 230) of 16th July 1611, we read of James Gordon in Tombae (not noted in the "Balbithan MS."), Thomas Gordon, "his sister son, alias 'Thomas, the Provisour,' vagabond, and his brother John, called 'John the Caterene.'" "John the Cateran" and several other men, mostly from Strathspey, described as "brokin hielandmen and sorners of clans," with others to the number of thirty, raided in July 1609 (as related by Dr Simpson) the lands of Corgarff and attacked three shepherds and bowmen in the employment of Alexander, Lord Elphinstone, who held the barony of Kildrummy.

The Tombae Group, 1611.

"John the Cateran" once more appears in a charge before the Privy Council in 1611. It was stated that "John, the Cateran," along with James Gordon in Tombae, Thomas Gordon, "his sister son, alias 'Thomas the Provisour,' vagabond," and three other men including Patrick M'Gillivorche, in the Cabrach, perhaps with an eye on their Cluny relations, made a raid on Echt, nearly thirty miles from Tombae, possibly taking the Lecht road. They stole seven cattle from Lawrence Coutts of Easter Cullarlie, and ten cattle from John Irvine of Haltoun. For this they had been put to the horn on 16th July 1611. Of course they paid no attention to the process—in legal language they remained "unrelaxed"—and so on 1st August 1611, Lord Forbes and John Forbes of Pitsligo were ordered by the Privy Council to convocate the lieges for the apprehension of the robbers (*Privy Council Register*, 1st series, vol. ix. p. 237).

The Auchdregnie Gordons, in 1612.

So far from being arrested, the Gordons were the subject of another Privy Council inquiry a year later, for on 28th July 1612, we find cited James Gordon in Achdregnie, —— Gordon, his son; together with Thomas Gordon, John Gordon, and Patrick Gordon, sons of the late Patrick Gordon of Carriehoull—which I take to be Corriehoullie, four miles from Nethy Bridge—"who is callit be ane too-name, the Katereine": John Roy Gordon and Patrick Gordon, "sons of the late Alexander Gordon in Tombae" (and nephews of James Gordon in Achdregnie). I may note in parenthesis that a John Gordon and a John Roy Gordon, Strathaven, were witnesses to a document signed 8th October 1527 (Fraser's *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii. pp. 69, 71). Whether they were connected with the families I am dealing with I do not know.

The other men implicated included eight Grants, James Forbes in Ledmakay, William Black, younger, in Roffinyache, and Gregor Bane, there. They are described in *The Privy Council Register* (1st series, vol. ix. p. 421),

as being "this long time brokin men, committing oppin rieffes, privie stouthis, slauchteris, mutilatiounis, soirnings, and utheris insolencyis" upon the good subjects in the adjacent parts. On 28th July 1612, eleven lairds, including Alexander Gordon, fiar of Strathdoun, and the lairds of Abergeldie, Lesmoir, and Cocklarachie, or any three of them, were commissioned to apprehend, try, and punish them.

Even then, however, nothing seems to have been done, for on 3rd November 1612, a complaint was lodged before the Privy Council by William Farquharson in Auchriachan and Alexander Gordon "of Straithdon" as his master, against some of the same group. Twenty-three men were involved, including four from Fodderletter, eight from Inverchebit, three from Inverourie, and three from Tombae. In addition to familiar names like Gordon, Grant, Ramsay, and Stuart, there are some curious Highland names such as M'Inrawer, M'Imketin, M'Sandie, M'Grymmen, and "John Bayne M'Thomas M'Agie." The Gordons involved were our friends James Gordon in Achdregnie, John Roy Gordon in Tombae, Patrick and John Gordon in Tombae, and John Gordon, son of the late Patrick Gordon in Corriehoull. They were charged with having gone, "all bodin in feir of weare with swerdis, gauntillatis, plait slevis, bowis, darlochis, durkis, targeis, and utheris wapponis invasive to the dwelling-house of Farquharson in Auchriachan, where they forcibly broke open the doors, searched with drawn swords in all parts of the house, for him on purpose to slay him, and would have slain him if he had not escaped." Patrick Grant of Carron, who was charged, alone appeared. The rest were denounced rebels (*Privy Council Register*, 1st series, vol. ix. p. 484).

Once more nothing was done, and the outrages of the Achdregnie Gordons came before the Privy Council on 3rd August 1631 (*Privy Council Register*, 1st series, vol. x. p. 131), at the complaint of their immediate overlord, Alexander Gordon, "fiar of Strathdone," and James Grant of Dalvey. On this occasion the charge was no less than murder, the victim being the father of John and William Sandieson. Eleven men, including James Gordon in "Auchreggne," and Adam Gordon in "Auchiregin" were put to the horn for the crime. Alexander Gordon "of Strathdon" told the Council on 13th August 1613, that eight of the men were not his tenants, but Adam Gordon "in Auchiregin" was. The latter, however, was "relaxed" from the horn and assoilzied.

Gordons in Nevie, 1619.

The Gordons in Nevie were, as we have seen, a branch of the Tombae and Achdregnie group. A Thomas Gordon in "Nevy" is included in the Corrichie remission of 1567 (*Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. iv. p. 155).

On 12th May 1619, Thomas Gordon "in Neve"—who can hardly have been the same man—and William Gordon in Touches were denounced as rebels (*Privy Council Register*, 1st series, vol. xi. p. 574): we get no indication on what charge.

The Inverourie Gordons, 1630–36.

Another wild family were the Gordons in Inverourie, who were descended from William Gordon of Delmore. Inverourie, which is in the parish of Kirkmichael, lies on the Avon, four miles north-west of Tombae and not far from Ballindalloch. The name is preserved to-day in the farm called Mains of Inverourie, but it originally included four small holdings and the famous MacGregors, whose deeds are commemorated on a large table stone at the door of Kirkmichael Church, were brought up on one of them. It is not easy to understand the origin of the name, for there is no stream called Ourie, though a hill burn runs into the mill dam of the Mains and thence into the Avon, opposite the farm of Balcorach.

The striking fact about the complaint brought against the Inverourie Gordons in 1630 is that they seem to have enjoyed the protection of the head of the family, the Marquis of Huntly himself. Indeed, the case in which the Inverourie group appeared was less a question of personal pillage than a family vendetta.

On 30th September 1628, John Gordon, younger, in Inverourie, and Patrick Gordon in Inverourie, with twenty-two other men were put to the horn on the complaint of Janet Grant for murdering her son, Thomas Grant of Dalvey (sometimes described of Cardels) and Lachlan M'Intosh, son of the late Thomas M'Intosh in Roakmore. But nothing came of it. We get a vivid glimpse into the difficulties of any prosecution by the fact that the Privy Council, on 4th December 1628, issued a warrant for the appearance of Harry Gordon in Tomachlaggan (on 27th January 1629), as a witness under protection, on behalf of John Grant in Ballindalloch. He and five other men similarly cited as having been present at the murder of Grant "dare not compear to depone in that matter, they being rebels at the horn for the same crime."

So, on 4th June 1630, Janet Grant complained again to the Council, associating Gordon's name with that of Finlay M'Grimmon and others. M'Grimmon came to a bad end, for the Clan Gregor took the law into their own hands and killed him on 18th March 1635. Spalding (*Trubles*, vol. i. p. 61) describes him as "ane follower of Carroun's, and who wes the instrument of his death, for Carroun manteynd him against Ballindalloch as wes said, and he (weill worthie of deith), as a great lymmar, was thus cut off."

The horrible lawlessness of the countryside is strikingly illustrated in Spalding's account of the MacGregors, who "opprest the countrie wp and doun, sorning and taking thair meit, defloiring virgynes and meinis wyves and begetting of barnes in hourdome without pvnitioun quhairever they went."

Returning to the charge of 1630, Janet Grant declared that the rebels go about at large and assist James and Alaster Grant, two notorious rebels, in their depredations. The Privy Council dealt with the case on 5th August 1630—on which occasion the name of Patrick Gordon in Inverourie appears — when Janet and her friends complained against the Marquis of Huntly and his son, Lord Gordon, for allowing the gang to "remain contemptuously at the horn, having their residence within the bounds of Stradoun," belonging to Lord Huntly. It was further complained that the gang was under the "obedience" of Huntly and his son, and accompanied them "at their oasting and hunting and all others thair assemblies and gadderings." The Marquis and his son appeared before the Council, which found that the "peace and quyet of the countrie necessarilie requires that the Marquis of Huntlie and Lord Gordon, as being the onlie men of power, friendship, and auctoritie, within these bounds, aucht and sould be burdened for exhibitioun of these rebells, seeing that the wadsetters are not of power nor auctoritie to do the same" (*Privy Council Register*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 4).

The case was again dealt with by the Council on 10th August 1630, when a commission was granted under the Signet to the Earl of Moray, as lieutenant and justice in the north part of Scotland, to search for John Gordon, younger, in Inverourie, and Patrick Gordon, in Inverourie, and others, who, armed with unlawful weapons, go sorning and oppressing through the country. Power was given to Moray to use fire and all warlike force against the marauders, and immunity was promised for any accidents in their service (*Privy Council Register*, 2nd series, vol. ix. p. 19).

I do not know what came of all this, but the Grant vendetta apparently died down, for we find that Thomas Gordon in Inveraven witnessed in 1641 a retour of James Grant in Auchehangen (Fraser's *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. iii. p. 233). This is probably the same Thomas Gordon in Inveraven in whose house in 1639 William Grant of Kirdellis confessed on 1st December 1641 before the Privy Council to intercommuning "at Dumphaillis desyre" with Patrick Ogg (*Privy Council Register*, 2nd series, vol. vii. p. 491). On 30th March 1645, Alexander Gordon in Tombae was one of the seventy-eight men, including three Gordons—one of them "Dom Gordon of Mammoir" (Minmore?)—who signed a "band of combination" between the laird of Grant, his friends and men of Badenoch, Rothiemurcus and Strathaven. The document, which is printed in full

in Fraser's *Chiefs of Grant* (vol. iii. p. 239), shows that the step was taken "in respect of the eminent dangeris vhiche is lyk to ensue wnto ws be the crueltie of theis our enemeis now joined against his Majestie." So the signatories decided to "ryise in armes wpon such adwertisment as may or can possibilie be send from ather of ws."

In May 1635, John Gordon in Wester Inverourie, accompanied by his son, William, and others armed with swords, staves, and other weapons, went to the lands of ——, where John Kers in the Boyne was about his lawful business, and "patt violent hands in his person, being his majestie's free leige, strake, hurt, and woundit him with their hands, feet and stalves on the head, shoulders and other parts of his bodie to the effusion of his blood: took him be the neck, raive aff his clothes, harled him be the legges and arms a great way to the Water of Awan, quhair they intendit undoubtedlie to have drowned him if the neighbours had not come to his relief." Kers complained to the Privy Council on 16th June 1636, but, as usual, the gang did not appear and were put to the horn (*Privy Council Register*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 267).

The Achnascra Gordons.

Adam Gordon in Achnascra, in the Braes of Glenlivet, one of the four sons of William Gordon of Delmore, was the only one of the family who actually suffered death through his exploits. Adam "in Achnasknay" (clearly a misprint for Achnaskray) took part as one of the "light horsemen" in the Gordon raids on the laird of Frendraught. This extraordinary vendetta formed a rallying point for all sorts of lawlessness, some of it probably quite independent of the immediate desire of the Gordons to be avenged on the laird of Frendraught for the mysterious burning of the Marquis of Huntly's son, Viscount Melgum, John Gordon of Rothiemay, and others in 1630.

This affair must have been quite a godsend to the Inveraven freebooters, for it gave them a colourable excuse for their raids. On 2nd August 1631, Lord Huntly undertook to exhibit, on 21st September, half a dozen people, including Gordon, "sonne to Ardreugnie" (Achdregnie?) and "his oyis alive" for their part in the spoliation of Frendraught (*Privy Council Register*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 310). When 21st September came round, twenty-two people are named as having been put to the horn, these including Gordon, son of the deceased James Gordon in Strathaven, and perhaps the above "Ardreugnie's" son, and James Gordon, son to Alister Gordon, officer to Lord Huntly in Badenoch. Lord Huntly bound himself that they should not molest Frendraught and they were relaxed (*Privy Council Register*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 333).

But the chief people of the Inveraven group involved were the Achnascra Gordons, including Adam Gordon in Achnascra, with his sons, Alaster, Patrick, and James. The last was captured and killed, for on 11th June 1635 (*Privy Council Register*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 23), the Marquis of Huntly, who had been liberated from his confinement in Edinburgh in April 1635, sent to the Council "ane post with the head of James Gordon, son of Adam Gordon of Auchnacrie" (Achnascra?), "who wes slain in the taking, and is one of the rebellis conteanit in the said Marquis his commission. Quhilk head wes delyvered to the Provost and Bailleis of Edinburgh to be sett up be thame upon the Nether Bow."

This event probably made James's kinsmen all the fiercer, for, on 3rd July 1636, a proclamation was issued for the arrest of his father and his brothers as part of the twenty-one light horsemen still at large who had carried on the Frendraught vendetta. Sixteen of the twenty-one were Gordons, drawn from a wide area—representing the families of Ardlogie, Auchinhandach, Auchinreath, Corskellie, Gight, Gollachie, Invermarkie, Littlemill in Ruthven, and including Adam Gordon "in Auchnasknay," and his sons Alaster and Patrick.

In the citation we read of Alexander Gordon of Bar, "callit Polsandie"; of James Gordon, "callit Sutherland James," and presumably from that county; and also James Gordon, "callit the sojour." In addition to these sixteen Gordons, there was a Leith, of Harthill, William Simson in Turriff, Allan Farquharson in Corriehoull, William M'Gilleworiche in Glenbucket, and Duncan Cuming, in Balvenie. The charge in the *Privy Council Register* (2nd series, vol. vi. p. 281) is an extraordinary impeachment of "stouthes, stouthreiffes, treasonable fire raisings, opin and avowed heirships, intollerable oppressions, and depredations, and other insolenceis." They were outlawed, but "foolishlie presuming that their former treasonable courses were turned in oblivion, and that his Majesties arme of justice would not overtake them, they are returned within the countrie, lurking and lying in obscure and derined places till they finde the occasion to renew thair former treasonable courses." We have no further information about the Achnascra group.

The Croughly Gordons, 1636.

The Croughly Gordons, probably because they had good farming land, kept clear of the general unruliness of their kinsfolk, but they would hardly have been human if they had not sheltered the latter. So we find, on 31st March 1636, that Thomas Gordon in "Crochlie"—whose relationship, if any, with the main Croughly family is unknown—was charged with resetting rebels (*Privy Council Register*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 216).

The Downan Gordons, 1636.

Another family involved in these troubles were the Gordons in Downan, close by Drumin, at the junction of the Livet and the Avon. They first appear on 15th August 1599, when George Gordon "of Downance" was cautioner that Alexander Gordon of Lesmoir and others would not harm Andrew Keith in Carnedralyne (*Privy Council Register*, 1st series, vol. vi. p. 620). On 16th April 1636, Thomas Gordon, smith, "in Dauan," was charged with resetting rebels, presumably the Frendraught vendettists (*Ibid.*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 236).

The old lawlessness came out long after that, for on 5th September 1671, William Gordon of Downan was charged with resetting "Papists" (*Ibid.*, 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 389).

The Minister of Inveraven Deposed.

What could be expected of the people of Inveraven when the parish minister, the Rev. Alexander Gordon, was deposed for drunkenness? Gordon, who was educated at Marischal College, had been schoolmaster and session clerk of Marnoch before he was ordained to Inveraven in 1650. On 7th May 1656, the Synod of Moray decided that Gordon, "lait minister of Inverawin, now deposed for drunkennes etc.," should be processed for solemnizing a marriage in the kirk of Rhynie between two partis whose bands had not been proclaimed, and he was deposed on 10th July 1656 (Crammond's *Synod of Moray*, p. 121), and excommunicated by the Presbytery of Elgin, 5th August 1657.

"Moonlight" Gordon, 1666.

On 5th August 1665, John Oig Gordon, alias "Moonlight," in Strathaven and twenty-eight other men, not all of them Strathspey men, were put to the horn for not appearing to answer charges of theft, reset, and "other crymes" against ten farmers in Craigston, Ardgaldis, Gauls and other places. On 4th January 1666, a number of lairds were ordered to "passe, search, seik, take, apprehend and imprison" them, and, in the case of resistance or hostile opposition, to pursue them to the death. Another commission for their arrest was issued on 9th May 1666 (*Privy Council Register*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 125, 164). I do not know who "Moonlight" was, but his nickname suggests that he carried on his dark deeds by night.

With the establishment of law and order throughout the country generally the caterans and vendettists in Inveraven disappear, at least from *The Privy Council Register*. It may be that they appear for lesser

offences in the records of the Banff Sheriff Court, but these, unfortunately, unlike the Aberdeenshire series, have not been published, so we have no means of tracing the Inveraven Gordons in this respect. Nor is it clear how the Gordons who were to be found in Tombae in the eighteenth century were connected with the earlier group. There were many Gordons in the whole valley of the Livet throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, but, living in a less wild region and nearer the seat of authority, they do not figure in the same connection as the Inveraven group.

III.

CUP-MARKINGS NEAR MOULIN, PERTHSHIRE.

By W. W. NAISMITH, F.S.A.Scot.

Rock Slab on Baledmund Estate.

This rock, which bears a series of cup-marks, is rather more than half a mile to the north of Moulin village, near Pitlochry, at a height of 900 feet above sea-level, and commands a fine view of the Tummel and Tay valley.

To reach it, you follow the good path leading from Moulin to Ben y Vrackie, until it crosses a small burn by a wooden bridge. You then leave the path and go through a gate to the right, and cross a grass field to the gamekeeper's cottage known as "Crofts of Baledmund." From there the track continues northward to a gate in the deer fence separating the pasture from the open moor. This track is parallel with the Ben y Vrackie path, and about 100 yards to the east of it.

The cup-marks lie close to the track, on the right side, and about 200 yards beyond the gamekeeper's cottage, in a rough grass field, containing many brackens as well as scattered rocks and stones.

I came across the place by accident in August last, and nobody seems to have noticed it before. Mr J. H. Dixon, F.S.A.Scot., in his interesting book, *Pitlochry Past and Present* (1925), expresses surprise that, considering the numerous Pictish and older remains in the district, no cup-markings have been found quite near Pitlochry, the nearest being 5½ miles distant. Mr M'Lauchlan, who farms the hillside, told me that he had never noticed the cups, or heard them spoken about.

The slab in question is evidently an ice-ground outcrop of hard schistose rock, its surface almost level with the surrounding grass. It contains fourteen well-marked cups, varying from two to three inches in